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FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE IN RELATION TO A PROTECTIVE TARIFF; EMBRACING A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE OPERATION OF OUR TARIFF LAWS SINCE THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING THAT OF 1842 BY JAMES WHITCOMB.

WHAT IS A TARIFF?
This question is often asked, but not often satisfactorily answered. It is of the greatest importance to every taxpayer that it should be correctly understood. What little information we have on the subject, among the farmers, mechanics and laborers is either derived from interested sources, and is therefore one-sided, or it is so covered up with hard words, as not to be understood by the mass of the people. When plainly expressed, the humblest individual of sound mind in the community can understand it. To all such we say, "you are precisely the class of men, who, above all others, should understand it." We believe that the mass of the people are virtuous and intelligent, and that they are capable of self-government. We believe that God in his kind providence, has given them minds equal to the management of their own affairs. It is only necessary that they should know the facts, to enable them to form a correct judgment on every question, public or private, in which they are interested. The doctrine that a freeman must surrender the right of thinking for him to some knowing neighbor, is essentially slavish and unworthy a rational being. Let not the poorest lay away the noble faculty of his reason, like a talent in a napkin. It is bestowed on him by the Author of his being, for *advice* use. It is of little consequence that the hands are used in procuring a livelihood, or in acquiring property, if the mind is neglected. In that case, too frequently, it is others only, who are benefited. All wealth comes through the hands of the laborer. "The cloud cap towers and the gorgeous palaces"—the splendid cities and the smiling fields of cultivation, are of his creation.

And why then do they generally retain so little of that which passes through their hands? It is because the ingenuity of a few, who work their minds and neglect their hands, to make a living from those who work their hands and neglect their minds, has been exercised in all ages. When a fair return is made for all this, no objection is made. It is necessary, or at least desirable, that some should engage in business or callings, that require the particular exercise of the mind. It is a division of labor, and is for the advantage of the whole community. But we object to those who, by unjust or partial laws, or by their mere acts, suck up their living from the roots that strike into the earth, without contributing anything themselves to the common wants of society. They are a dead weight on the community, for the more idlers there are, the harder must the rest work. Let it not be said that we make war on the rich. We only defend the poor. Industry, enterprise and skill are in the highest degree meritorious, and wealth acquired by their means, is a merited reward, and should be protected. We only desire that all should start fair in the race for wealth and happiness. Poverty, at the best, is a heavy weight to carry, and it should not be made heavier, by unjust laws. Our country is our common mother, and if she is excusable in showing more of her sympathy and kindness towards some of her children, it should be for the weak and unfortunate. Let it not be said that we are playing the demagogue. We abhor the character. The demagogue flatters the people for his own sinister advantage, in the shape of power or wealth, and it is precisely that character that we are about to combat. But are not the sentiments and opinions we have put forth, true? Can any man of correct feeling, can any friend of justice, can any lover of mankind, who looks into his heart, object to them? We think not.

WHAT IS A TARIFF?
It is a law of Congress which requires goods landed in our ports or brought into our country to pay a tax, and this tax is called a duty. The great object of such a law is to raise money for the National Treasury, to pay the expenses of the government. The goods, when landed, pass through Custom Houses at the ports, where they are examined, weighed, measured, or counted by the government officers, who receive the amount of the tax. But this tax, although at first paid by the importer of the goods at the Custom House, is at last paid by the people. Because the higher the tariff or tax is, on a particular kind of goods, the higher must the wholesale importer sell it afterwards to make a profit in his business. For instance, if the importer brings in cloth for which he gave one dollar a yard, and he wants to make ten per cent. profit on it, he must sell it for one dollar and ten cents. If the tariff duty, or tax, on it is one hundred per cent., that is another dollar on the yard, and as he wants to make ten per cent. on all his outlay, he must sell it for two dollars and twenty cents. This he sells to the Indiana merchant, and the latter also wants to make his profit of fifty per cent., being one-third more. He will therefore have to sell it to one of our farmers or mechanics for three dollars and thirty cents a yard. Here we see that the importer, in the first place, paid only one dollar a yard tax into the Treasury, but the dollar at last comes out of the farmer or mechanic who buys the cloth for use, with the profit on it, making sixty cents more. Thus we see that the importing merchant, when he sells his goods, not only charges the first cost and a profit on it, but he adds the amount of the tax at the Custom House, and a profit on that also. And an additional profit is charged on both cost and tax by every merchant through whose hands they afterwards pass, until they are at last bought for actual use of the retail merchant, who charges his profit at say from thirty-three to one hundred per cent. on the whole.

In this manner, it is clear that the tax caused by the tariff is always paid by the consumer; and that, too, with the addition of the profits on the amount of the tax at every step. The further the consumer lives from the sea-board, the greater are the profits which he is compelled to pay on the tax, besides refunding it. The tax, therefore, is swelled much larger to the people of the new States than to those of the old.

Hence, it is clear that a tariff makes the goods just so much dearer to the people as the tax amounts to, with all the profits added to it. That this is the nature and result of a tariff, all parties admit; and they are only mentioned here, that what we may say hereafter may be fully understood by every person. It is our intention to guard the people against the deceptions too frequently practised on this subject, and to enable them to be their own judges in a matter which so nearly concerns them.

To apply this to our own State revenue. If the law of Indiana were to require that all the taxes should be paid by the merchants of the State for the privilege of selling their goods, it is plain that in selling their goods, they would charge a profit not only on their first cost and carriage, but on the taxes also. And if they charged but fifty per cent. profit, the purchaser or consumer would thus have to refund to the merchant not only the taxes by him paid, but fifty per cent. or one-third more than the buyer would have had to pay if called on by the collector. And this is precisely the operation of a tariff tax, excepting that in the latter case the goods generally pass through more hands before they are finally bought for use by the retail taxpayer, and there is a fresh profit charged at every step.

Every tax is an evil. But so far as a tax is necessary to defray the expenses of government, it is a necessary evil. When such expenses become extravagant, the additional tax thereby created is an unnecessary and unjustified evil. It is the duty of government, therefore, to cut down and retrench its expenditures as much as possible, so as to lessen the burden of the taxes.

There has always been a tariff law in the United States, of some kind or other, since the first Congress under the constitution. No serious proposition has ever been made in Congress or by the government to abolish it. The only contest has been between those who are for a high, or (as it is sometimes called) a protective tariff, and those who are for a low or revenue tariff.

On this point the testimony of Daniel Webster himself, who is in favor of a high tariff, should be sufficient. In his speech on the tariff, in Congress, April, 1824, he says, "consider that our whole revenue, with a trifling exception, is collected at the Custom House, and always has been, and then say what propriety there is in calling on the government for protection, [to manufacturers] as if no protection had heretofore been afforded."

Then as both political parties have always been in favor of a tariff of some kind, and have always had one, the question is, in what do they differ on this point? It is simply in this: those who style themselves the Democratic party are in favor of a revenue tariff, and those who style themselves the Whig party are in favor of high, or as they call it, a protective tariff.

A revenue tariff is such a tax on imported goods as is sufficient to pay the expenses of the government, and no more.

A high or protective tariff is a higher tax on such goods, and, of course, beyond what is necessary for the support of government.

The friends of a high tariff insist that such a measure is necessary to protect our own manufactures; that many foreign articles are made so cheap abroad that they would, unless they were heavily taxed, undersell similar articles made by the manufacturers in the United States.

They contend that the people ought to be made to pay a higher price for their cotton shirting and sheeting, their flannels and baizes, their cassinets and other coarse woollen cloths, their articles made of iron and steel, their salt, and many other articles of necessity and daily use in every log cabin in the country, so as to enable the large cotton and woollen cloth, and other manufacturers in some of the old States, and the salt companies, to sell their articles at a higher price. And this they insist is necessary to enable these manufacturers and companies to carry on their business.

They know, however, that the people, and especially the poorer part of them, would like to sell the fruits of their labor for a full, or at least a fair value, and to buy their necessities as cheap as possible; and therefore, to reconcile them to this tax, they say that it is to last only until the manufacturers and companies are able to stand alone, and make these articles as cheap as the foreign ones, and therefore that the people, in the long run, will be benefited by it.

But the smallest amount of a tariff tax is some protection to similar articles made in our country.

This is too plain to be denied, and we have always had some kind of a tariff. The question then is, had any of the domestic manufactures which were protected by the tariff bill passed at the last session of Congress, been sufficiently protected before?

DID ALL SUCH MANUFACTURES NEED MORE PROTECTION?

We mean all of them which were protected by the late tariff bill. The Whigs say, yes; the Democrats say, no.

Let facts speak. There is a great deal of frothy declamation on this subject on the stump and in party papers. Sober argument is much better. But facts are better than either. We shall confine ourselves to facts, and on such authority as will not be disputed.

Henry Clay, who is claimed as being the father of the high tariff or protective system, in his speech in Congress, on the 25th of March, 1816, on the tariff bill, said, "the object of protecting manufactures was that we might eventually get articles of necessity made as cheap at home as they could be imported, and thereby produce an independence of foreign countries. In three years, he said, we could judge of the ability of our establishments to furnish those articles as cheap as they were obtained from abroad, and could begin to legislate with the lights of experience. He believed that three years would be sufficient to place our manufactures on this desirable footing."

Well, that tariff bill passed, and what did the three years produce? Let the fifth annual message of President Monroe to Congress, of December 3, 1817, five years afterwards, answer. He there says: "It may fairly be presumed that under the protection given to domestic manufactures by the existing laws, we shall become, at no distant period, a manufacturing country on an extensive scale."

President Monroe has been sometimes claimed as being in favor of a protective tariff, but so far as he is recommending an increase of the tariff tax, that he declared the laws as they then stood were sufficient for the purpose of protection.

We shall show shortly that protection means that one part of the people are to pay to another part, a higher price for their articles, than they could be got for elsewhere, to enable them to carry on their business. But when this is done, there is no justice in compelling them to pay more. This all must admit.

Only three years afterwards, however, the manufacturers had another bill brought before Congress, largely increasing the tariff. They were not satisfied with the great prosperity they enjoyed at the time of Mr. Monroe's Message, and which was still increasing. The bill laid higher taxes on imported articles, although similar articles were then made by them so cheap that they could be afforded as low, at least, as the imported ones.

That this was so, we have the word of Daniel Webster himself, in his speech in Congress on that very bill. He then represented a manufacturing State, and his testimony on that point, therefore, must have been true. He said: "I consider the cotton manufacturer not only to have reached, but to have passed the point of competition. I regard their success as certain, and their growth as rapid as the most impatient could well expect. If, however, a provision of the nature of that recommended here, were thought necessary to commence new operations in the same line of manufacture, I should cheerfully agree to it, if it were not at the end of sacrificing other great interests of the country. I need hardly say that whatever promotes the cotton and woollen manufactures promotes the most important interests of my constituents. They have a great stake in the success of those establishments, and as far as those manufacturers are concerned, would be as much benefited by the provisions of this bill, as any part of the community."

Mr. Webster, it must be presumed, understood, at that time, the interests of his own constituents. Some of them were manufacturers and some were farmers. He was willing to "protect" the former, only he saw it would injure the latter. He knew that imported articles would be just as much dearer to the buyer, as the tax on them amounted to. He knew too, that similar articles, made in his State, would not be sold below the same increased price. He saw that this extra price on the domestic article, would have to be paid by the farmer who wanted it, and that it would go into the pocket of the manufacturer. Hence it was that he was not disposed to help, by a tariff the manufacturers of his State, because it would be at the cost of sacrificing other great interests of the country—the interests of the farmer, small mechanic, and those engaged in trade and navigation. The wealthy manufacturers, however, had sufficient influence to get the bill passed. And the consequence was, that it discouraged trade, injured the farmer, and greatly injured the shipping interest. But it increased the wealth and power of the manufacturers, so true is it in such operations, that "what is the loss of one, is the gain of another." Wealth and power give influence and command votes; and we find Mr. Webster, in after years, supporting the high tariff principle. The manufacturing had become the controlling interest of his State.

Let us pause for a moment and ask ourselves, what would have been Mr. Webster's course on the tariff bill passed at the last session of Congress, in 1812, if he had been then, as a member from Indiana? He would scarcely have found a single article raised or made in our State, which is protected by that bill. If, in 1824, when he was a representative from Massachusetts, he had voted against a tariff bill for the benefit of manufacturers, when a large and powerful class of them were in his own State, would he not, if he had been a representative from Indiana in Congress, at his last session, have voted against a bill laying a still higher tax on imports, when scarcely a manufacturer to be benefited by it, can be found in the whole State? Would he not have said, "I voted against the tariff bill of 1824, although it benefited a part of my own constituents, because it injured others, and I cannot now support this bill, because, as to the

people of Indiana, it injures all and benefits none? It taxes every man in Indiana, not to benefit others in that State, but to fill the pockets of the wealthy in other States."

FOURTHISM.

SCIENCE OF SOCIAL POLITICAL ECONOMY.—In order that our readers may not be ignorant of one of the attempted improvements of the times, we may note the progress of a doctrine in this country known by the name of Fourism, being a theory of Industrial Association, particularly defined by a Monsieur Fourier, not long since deceased in France. The author of the system was a man of great talent and marked benevolence; and, born and bred among the desperate waste of life and wealth caused by the revolutionary and imperial wars of his country, he was probably led, in conjunction with a bold speculative spirit of change, to enter upon the consideration of a new social system which should furnish human want and oppression. He lays down his premises that the chief source of man's misery from social, not political causes, and that we must look accordingly to the proper remedial changes. It would seem from his writings that he knew nothing of the science of political economy, and that he was a radical, and all his conclusions were drawn from premises of European, Asiatic, and barbarian origin.

Every week now produces some fresh work upon social regeneration in the Parisian capital, and it is probable that we should find the doctrine of Fourier greatly improved upon, but we have not time to pursue the subject. The writings of the immediate race of French theorists. Mixed up with much that is fantastic, ridiculously absurd, and intensely national, there is sufficient in the system of Fourier to command it to attention; but the reader in general may be advised not to be deceived from looking at the writer's facts from the ridiculous assumptions and fancies that will be encountered.

What of Fourier is known in this country is through the agency of Mr. Albert Brisbane, of New York, who has published copious translations from his works, and who claims to be the English translator, and instead of having set up a newspaper to do the act of giving birth to his favorite theory, he wisely made himself known through the columns of the New York Tribune, a daily paper of unimpaired talent as a Whig organ.

We have had Mr. Brisbane's earnest expostulations of social reorganization. It would seem that Mr. Greeley, the editor of the Tribune, has become a convert to the doctrine that all political speculations and acts are inadequate to assure to man his proper destiny, and that there must be radical social change.

Regarding the chief occupation and necessity of man, agriculture, the social reformers take the ground that the present mode of conducting it by means of isolated households and farms is the meanest and most unprofitable that could be devised. That to establish agriculture upon a proper footing it is necessary to have a vast aggregate of labor, capital, and talent, not to be effected by means of association. The agreement of the associated parties is to be secured by having numbers of persons sufficient to form a community—thus establishing a diversity of individual interests necessary to the entire concordance of the members at large. For this purpose, he suggested that a community of two thousand persons should live on an estate of six thousand acres, residing in separate dwellings under one general building, well built and of ample extent. All the particulars of the plan of the association are given. Individual property and the separation of families to be preserved. The protection of the association is to be secured by the sacred and attractive kind of labor; in which particular it differs entirely and fundamentally from present labor, which is monotonous and forced. By means of certain efforts in common, by dispensing with intermediate agencies between producer and consumer, with our present mode of conducting it, the result of a vast aggregate of labor, capital, and talent, not to be effected by means of association. The agreement of the associated parties is to be secured by having numbers of persons sufficient to form a community—thus establishing a diversity of individual interests necessary to the entire concordance of the members at large. For this purpose, he suggested that a community of two thousand persons should live on an estate of six thousand acres, residing in separate dwellings under one general building, well built and of ample extent. All the particulars of the plan of the association are given. 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